CHAPTER 7

Ultranationalism and Crimes against Humanity

Figure 7-1 On August 6, 1945, an American plane dropped an atomic bomb on the Japanese city of Hiroshima. About 70 000 people died instantly. The photograph at right shows the mushroom cloud created by the bomb — and the photograph at bottom left shows the city in ruins. The domed building pictured at top left remained partly standing, and its ruins were transformed into a memorial of this terrible event. On August 6 every year, people like the boys in the photograph float paper lanterns on the river that flows past the memorial.

CHAPTER ISSUE

How can ultranationalism lead to crimes against humanity?

KEY TERMS

- crimes against humanity
- genocide
- war crimes
- collective farms
- Holocaust
- ethnic cleansing

In May 1945, Germany surrendered and World War II ended in Europe. But Japanese troops were still fighting in the Pacific. American leaders were preparing to invade Japan. They knew of the Japanese military's reputation for not giving up, and many believed that Japanese soldiers would fight to the death — so the war would go on and on. Many people on both sides would die.

So on August 6, 1945, the United States dropped an atomic bomb on Hiroshima. Three days later, the U.S. dropped a second bomb on Nagasaki — and Japan surrendered. World War II was over.

Examine the photographs on the previous page. Then respond to the following questions:

- What do you feel when you look at the three photographs?
- The population of Lethbridge is about 70 000. This is the number of people who were killed instantly by the Hiroshima bomb. How would you have felt if Japan had wiped out a Canadian city of this size?
- Was dropping the atomic bomb a response to ultranationalism — or an act of ultranationalism? Was it both? Was it neither?

Looking Ahead

In this chapter, you will explore how ultranationalism and crimes against humanity are related. You will do this by developing responses to the following questions:

- What are crimes against humanity?
- How has ultranationalism caused crimes against humanity?
- What are some current consequences of ultranationalism?

My Journal on Nationalism

Has learning about ultranationalism changed your ideas about nationalism? Create two sketches — one before and one after — to show how your ideas have changed. Write a caption to explain each sketch. Date your ideas and keep them in your journal, notebook, learning log, portfolio, or computer file so that you can return to them as you progress through this course.

What are crimes against humanity?

People's loyalty can help their nation grow and prosper. Strong, charismatic leaders can help people feel proud of belonging to a nation. But when nationalism becomes extreme, it can turn into ultranationalism. When this happens, people may commit **crimes against humanity**. These are crimes that offend nearly everyone because they reflect so badly on all humanity.

The Nanjing Massacre

Ultranationalists often view people who do not belong to their nation as "the other." During wartime, this thinking can encourage soldiers to attack and mistreat civilians in captured enemy territory. This is what happened in Nanjing, China, when Japanese troops captured the city in 1937.

At the time, Nanjing was the capital of China, and Japan and China were at war. Japanese soldiers treated the city's people with extreme cruelty. They slaughtered up to 300 000 men, women, and children. Nanjing's streets were littered with the dead. This notorious event is often called the Nanjing massacre or the rape of Nanjing. An American reporter witnessed the early stages of the massacre before being forced out of the city. He called what happened "one of the great atrocities of modern times."

Blood and tears were [my mother's] life. As soon as anyone mentions the Nanjing massacre, she couldn't help but cry uncontrollably and suffer headaches for a long time. I never saw her smile. Because my father's death was so brutal . . . my mother could never smile again.

— Liu Fonghua, in an interview with writer Iris Chang, 1995

Picturing Crimes against Humanity

Figure 7-2 **The enforced "disappearance" of persons**

When military leaders seized power in Argentina during the 1970s, they kidnapped and murdered as many as 13 000 of their political enemies. The murdered people are called *los desaparecidos*, or "the disappeared." Most of their bodies have never been found. Every year, mothers of the disappeared hold a rally to demand the return of their children.

Figure 7-3 **The crime of apartheid**

For several decades in the 20th century, South African laws kept blacks and people known as "coloured" apart from whites. This was known as apartheid, and the rights of non-whites were strictly limited. Blacks were, for example, barred from eating in the same restaurants as whites. In this photograph, black South Africans eat in a "non-European" cafeteria. Some of these racist laws remained in place until 1991.

Naming the Crimes

Events like the Nanjing massacre horrified people in many countries. In 1998, the United Nations set up the International Criminal Court to try people accused of committing crimes against humanity, genocide, and war crimes. This court developed definitions of these crimes.

- Crimes against humanity refer to widespread or systematic attacks against a civilian population — murder, extermination, enslavement, deportation, imprisonment, torture, sexual violence, enforced disappearance of persons, persecution of a group, and the crime of apartheid.
- **Genocide** refers to the killing of members of a national, ethnic, racial, or religious group; causing serious bodily or mental harm to members of the group; and deliberately inflicting on the group conditions of life calculated to bring about its physical destruction.
- **War crimes** refers to wilful killing, torture, or inhumane treatment; wilfully causing great suffering; and intentionally directing attacks against the civilian population or against those who are involved in a humanitarian or peacekeeping mission.

The photo essay on these two pages provides examples of crimes against humanity. Identify which examples occurred during wartime and which occurred during peacetime. In each case, who was "the other"?

VOICES

In the twentieth century, genocide and mass murders — all crimes against humanity — have killed an estimated 60 million men, women and children — more than were killed in battlefields in all the wars from 1900 to 2000.

— Barbara Coloroso, author and educator, in Extraordinary Evil: A Brief History of Genocide, *2007*

What is the point of defining terms like "crimes against humanity," "genocide," and "war crimes"?

Figure 7-4 **Murder**

In 1937 and 1938, Japanese soldiers murdered up to 300 000 civilians in Nanjing, China. This statue is part of a memorial to the victims, who are remembered every year in a ceremony attended by thousands of people.

Figure 7-6 **Imprisonment or other severe deprivation of physical liberty**

Former Chilean dictator Augusto Pinochet was accused of using torture, kidnapping, illegal jailing, murder, and censorship to put down opposition. Pinochet claimed that he was immune to charges. But in 2004, Chilean judge Juan Guzman, shown answering reporters' questions, rejected this claim and ordered Pinochet to stand trial for murder and kidnapping.

Figure 7-5 **Extermination**

In Rwanda, longstanding rivalries and resentments between Hutu extremists and Tutsis erupted in violence in 1994. Extremist Hutus went on a rampage, killing up to 800 000 Tutsis and moderate Hutus in just 100 days. This memorial in a church in Nyamata commemorates the place where about 10 000 Tutsis were murdered.

VOICES

Hate has a nearly limitless ability to dehumanize its victims, shutting down the most basic human capacities for sympathy and compassion.

— Rush W. Dozier Jr., journalist and author, in Why We Hate, *2002*

Figure 7-7 When Jews arrived by train at Auschwitz-Birkenau, members of the German SS, an elite military organization, separated them into two groups. One group was sent to forced labour and the other was destined for execution. How can restricting people's rights lead to crimes against humanity, such as the one in this scene at the railway station?

From Ultranationalism to Crimes against Humanity

Utranationalists may start by persecuting members of minority groups. They may segregate — separate — members of a minority group and treat them as if they are less than human. This is how Adolf Hitler and the Nazis treated Jews in the years before World War II.

The Nazis blamed Jews for many of the problems in German society. So the Nazis passed racist laws that limited the rights of Jews. As time passed, these laws became more severe and more inhumane. Then the Nazis began rounding up Jews and transporting them to concentration camps, where they were forced to work as slave labour. Finally, the Nazis began executing Jews in death camps.

In ultranationalist states such as Nazi Germany, racism can lead to an atmosphere that makes crimes against humanity possible. Governments may pass laws that

- restrict freedom of speech — Laws may forbid people to criticize government actions.
- demand identification — The government may force people to carry identification showing they are members of a particular minority. They may, for example, be forced to wear badges.
- deny education and employment — The government may bar students who belong to the targeted minority from going to school. It may also bar people from holding certain jobs.
- restrict movements — The government may segregate minorities or forbid them to enter certain areas. They may be forced to live in ghettos and be denied passports.
- deny human rights — The state may arrest or mistreat members of minority groups for no apparent reason. They may be denied access to housing, food, and clean water. Their homes and belongings may be taken away, and they may be imprisoned, tortured, or even murdered.

Recall . . . Reflect . . . Respond

1. Create a diagram that shows how nationalism or national interest, ultranationalism, and racism may be connected. Explain your diagram to a partner, and listen while your partner does the same. If necessary, revise your diagram to reflect new ideas that resulted from your discussion.
2. Revisit the definitions on page 155 and the photo essay on pages 154–155. Create a chart like the one shown to help classify the example shown in each photograph. Use a check mark to show which category the crime fits into. Use an X to show that the crime does not fit into a category. If you are not sure, insert a question mark.
3. With a small group, discuss your decisions and the reasons for your judgments. If necessary, revise your chart to reflect new ideas that resulted from this discussion.

Photograph	Genocide	War Crime	Crime against Humanity
Figure 7-2 Mothers in Argentina	✘	✘	✓

How has ultranationalism caused crimes against humanity?

Ultranationalist beliefs provide fertile ground for the growth of racism and prejudice. When a society tolerates — and even encourages — racism and prejudice, crimes against humanity may follow. If a government, for example, passes laws that support ultranationalism, people sometimes believe that committing crimes against humanity shows their loyalty to their nation.

Around the world, people are studying crimes against humanity to try to understand why they have happened and what can be done to ensure that they do not happen again. Those who study these crimes have found that peer pressure plays an important role.

Peer pressure involves the desire to feel a sense of belonging by going along with group actions — even when individuals may not feel comfortable about what they are doing.

How might peer pressure encourage people to participate in crimes against humanity?

<<< CheckBack

You read about the rise of Turkish nationalism in Chapters 1 and 5.

Genocide in Turkey — 1915

In the early 20th century, Turkey was still part of the Ottoman Empire. Islam was the dominant religion, but the empire included many Armenians. Most Armenians were Christians. They had kept their national identity, language, and culture. As a result of this choice, they often suffered discrimination.

In the late 1800s, some Armenian nationalists began fighting for self-determination. They lost this fight, and afterwards, the Turks killed thousands of them.

During World War I, the Turks fought on the side of Germany against Britain, Russia, and their allies. So when some Armenian nationalists sided with Russia, the Turks viewed them as traitors.

In 1914, the Young Turks — an ultranationalist political party that controlled the Ottoman-Turkish government — ordered the murder of Armenians. These orders are often called the "Ten Commandments." The orders told Turks to

- kill all Armenian men under 50, as well as priests and teachers Force girls and children to become Muslims
- carry away the families of all Armenian men who escape
- kill all Armenians in the army

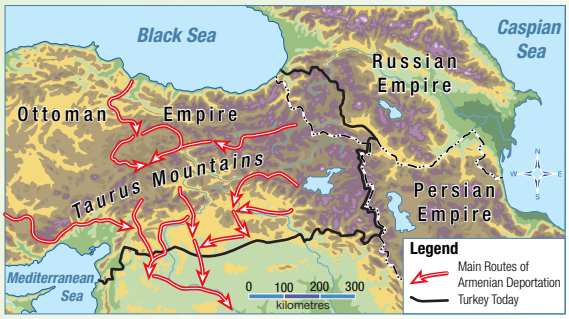
Voices

There was a place near Mush where three rivers come together and pass under a bridge . . . My mother went there . . . and saw hundreds of our men lined up on the bridge, face to face. Then the soldiers shot at them from both sides . . . The Turks took the clothes and valuables off the bodies and then they took the bodies by the hands and feet and threw them into the water.

— Mayreni Kaloustian, Armenian genocide survivor, 1992

Figure 7-8 Annie Karakaian was a girl when the Turks ordered the murder of Armenians. Karakaian survived the horror — and in 2005, when she was 101, she attended a memorial in New York City to mark the 90th anniversary of the massacre. Armenians around the world have been lobbying to have this event recognized as genocide. Why might this be important to Armenians?

Figure 7-9 Routes of Armenian Forced Marches, 1915



To see a map of Turkey in the world today, turn to the map appendix.

Witnesses took pictures of what happened to Armenians in 1915–1916. These photographs still exist — but the suffering they show disturbs many people. Should some of these photographs have been included in this book? Why or why not?

FYI

Canada was one of the first countries to attach the label "genocide" to what happened to Armenians in 1915–1916. In 2004, Parliament adopted a motion that said, "This House acknowledges the Armenian genocide of 1915 and condemns this act as a crime against humanity."

State-Sponsored Crimes

On April 24, 1915, Turkish soldiers started carrying out their orders. First, they executed Armenian community leaders. Then they murdered hundreds of thousands of Armenian soldiers and civilians.

Many of those who were left — mostly women and children — were rounded up and deported. Without food and water, they were forced to march over mountains and through barren regions toward Syria and present-day Iraq.

Some Turks tried to help the Armenians. But fewer than 100 000 of the country's 2 million Armenians survived.

Henry Morgenthau Sr. was the American ambassador to Constantinople, which is now called Istanbul. Morgenthau and other foreign observers witnessed the events and told the world what was happening. In letters to Washington, Morgenthau called the forced marches a "new method of massacre."

After World War I, Turkey found some of those responsible for the massacre guilty of murder. But those leaders had already fled to Germany. As result, they were never punished.

➲ Examine the map in Figure 7-9. Use the distance scale to estimate the length of the forced marches through the mountains. Did these marches amount to a death sentence? Explain your response.

Recognizing the Armenian Genocide

The Turkish government admits that many Armenians died in 1915 and 1916, but it denies that the deaths were planned. In Turkey, talking about the Armenian genocide is a crime. Turkish officials say that the deaths were caused by inter-ethnic violence and the war. Despite this, many countries have now formally recognized the Armenian massacre as genocide.

➲ Why might the Turkish government believe it important to deny the Armenian genocide?

Recognizing crimes against humanity and punishing those responsible can have an important effect. Because Germany and Turkey were allies, many Germans witnessed the Armenian genocides.

Some people believe that this genocide became the model Adolf Hitler later used to kill European Jews. In 1931, for example, Hitler told a newspaper editor: "We intend to introduce a great resettlement policy [for Jews] . . . remember the extermination of the Armenians."

➲ If the international community had acted quickly to condemn the Armenian genocide and punish those responsible, do you think Hitler's plans would have changed? Explain your response.

Famine in Ukraine — 1932–1933

In the early 20th century, Ukraine was often called the breadbasket of Europe because large areas of the region are ideal for growing wheat. Much of Ukraine was part of the Russian Empire, which became the Soviet Union in 1922.

In Ukraine, many wealthy *kulaks* — farmers who owned land and livestock — wanted independence for their nation. But when Joseph Stalin emerged as the Soviet leader in the late 1920s, he had other plans. He ordered the kulaks to give their land to the government. His plan was to merge their privately owned farms into huge **collective farms** — state-owned farms on which the people would work as labourers.

Many kulaks resisted, and to crush this resistance, Stalin created a famine — an extreme scarcity of food. He started in 1932 by shipping the Ukrainian wheat crop to Russia. Much of this wheat was then sold to raise cash. Stalin wanted the money to build the Soviet army and carry out his plans to modernize the country.

Stalin then sealed Ukraine's borders. No one could get out to buy food — and no food could get in. Soviet troops also seized the seeds farmers had saved so that they could plant the next year's crop.

Soldiers then took all remaining food from Ukrainian farms. Anyone caught hiding grain was either executed or sent to forced-labour camps.

By the end of 1933, Soviet granaries were full of Ukrainian wheat, but between three and seven million Ukrainians had starved to death or been murdered.

Soviet authorities kept the famine out of the news, so few outsiders knew what was happening. What if cellphones and the Internet had existed in the 1930s? Would the Soviets have been able to keep their actions secret? Write an e-mail or text message explaining your response to your teacher or a classmate.

Figure 7-10 In November 2005, Ukrainians gathered at a monument in Kyiv, the capital of Ukraine. This monument was erected to honour the memory of victims of the famine of the 1930s. Why would it be important to Ukrainians to build a memorial to the famine victims?

Recognizing the Ukrainian Genocide

Stalin always denied that he had planned to starve the Ukrainian people. The Russian government also denies that a genocide took place. But many historians disagree.

In 1999, Ukraine achieved independence from the Solviet Union. In 2006, its parliament declared that the *Holodomor* — the famine plague — was an act of genocide.

In 2003, the Canadian Senate agreed, and in 2007, so did the Manitoba government. They were responding to Ukrainian Canadians such as Halyna Panasiuk, who lived through the famine. Panasiuk now lives in Winnipeg, Manitoba, but she grew up in Ukraine. By the age of nine, she was used to seeing the dead. She has said, "I want people to know the truth because there are still people who are denying what happened. I lived it."

IMPACT

Shoah — The Holocaust

In 1938, Josef Pitel of Parczev, Poland, was preparing to immigrate to Israel. Just before he left, family members gathered for the photograph shown in Figure 7-11.

The Pitels were Jews — and when the Nazis invaded Poland, they rounded up the Pitels, along with hundreds of thousands of other Polish Jews. The Pitels were sent to Treblinka, a death camp. They died there in 1943. At the end of the war, Josef was the only family member still alive.

Figure 7-11 Josef Pitel, the man standing at the right in this family photograph, immigrated to Israel just before World War II. Pitel took this family photograph with him to Israel. This picture is now part of Jerusalem's Yad Vashem museum archive of images and names of those who died in the Holocaust.

Genocide

Before World War II, about nine million Jews lived in the European countries that Germany invaded during the war. By 1945, only about three million of these Jews were still alive. The rest had been murdered as Adolf Hitler, the Nazi dictator, carried out his plan to eliminate the Jews of Europe. This genocide of six million people is called the **Holocaust** — or Shoah in Hebrew.

Hitler's goal was to build a German empire of "pure" Aryans. "Aryan" was the word the Nazis used to describe members of the white race. In addition to Jews, the Nazis killed millions of Roma and Slav peoples, communists, homosexual men, people with disabilities, and others.

International Response

During the 1930s, people in many countries were struggling with the Great Depression. They were also afraid of starting another war, so the world largely ignored what was happening in Germany.

At the time, anti-Semitism — discrimination against Jews — was common in many countries, including Canada. In early 1939, for example, more than 900 Jewish refugees tried to flee Germany on the *St. Louis*. This ship tried to land in many countries, including Canada. But no government would accept these refugees. The *St. Louis* returned to Europe, and many of its passengers eventually died in Nazi death camps.

Growing Awareness

As World War II dragged on, the world learned more about the genocide. Gerhart Riegner was the American representative at the World Jewish Congress in Switzerland. In August 1942, he told his government that the Nazis intended to kill all the Jews of Europe.

At first, no one believed Reigner. But even after his information was verified, little was done to help those who were dying in the camps every day.

Growing Resistance

Some Jews knew what was happening, but many could not believe it. Some resisted, both in the ghettos and in the death camps. They fought bravely, facing almost certain death.

Others also responded. The city of Shanghai, China, for example, accepted tens of thousands of Jewish refugees. And many people in Denmark, which was occupied by Germany, risked their lives to hide Jews and smuggle them to safety in Sweden.

But other people co-operated with the Germans. They identified Jews and revealed their hiding places.

Liberation

In 1945, Allied forces pushed into Poland and Germany — and liberated prisoners in the death camps, such as Auschwitz-Birkenau and Buchenwald. They found thousands of prisoners suffering from disease and starvation. Bodies had been piled in the open and left unburied.

The evidence was clear. The camps had been used to systematically kill people. The liberators shot films, took photographs, and recorded eye-witness statements that were later used in war crime trials.

Why Remembering Matters

In 1986, Holocaust survivor Elie Wiesel won the Nobel Peace Prize for his humanitarian work. In his acceptance speech, Wiesel remembered family members, teachers, and friends who had died in the Holocaust. He explained why it is important to remember genocide.

> I have tried to fight those who would forget. Because if we forget, we are guilty, we are accomplices . . .
>
> I swore never to be silent whenever wherever human beings endure suffering and humiliation. We must take sides. Neutrality helps the oppressor, never the victim. Silence encourages the tormentor, never the tormented. Sometimes we must interfere. When human lives are endangered, when human dignity is in jeopardy, national borders and sensitivities become irrelevant.

Figure 7-12 These Jews were part of a resistance group in Lithuania. Along with 30 000 other Jews, most had been confined in the Kovno ghetto in the city of Kaunas. They managed to escape and join the resistance, which was fighting the German troops who occupied the country.

EXPLORATIONS

1. Elie Wiesel believes that forgetting about human suffering makes people accomplices — partners in the crimes. Do you agree with his opinion? Explain your reasoning.
2. Are the many governments and individuals who co-operated with the Nazis guilty of crimes against humanity? What about those who simply did nothing? What about the international community, including Canada? Explain your responses.
3. The guards who made sure no one escaped, the clerks who recorded the number tattooed on every Jewish prisoner, and many others who worked at the death camps did so for various reasons. Maybe, for example, they needed a job or feared the consequences of speaking out. How could people go about their daily business knowing that they were sending innocent people to their death? How could Canada refuse to accept Jews during World War II?

The Bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki — 1945

Governments pursue national interest to protect the physical security of a country and its people, to ensure people's economic stability and prosperity, and to protect and promote people's values, beliefs, and culture.

Many people argued that dropping the atom bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki in 1945 was in the national interest of the United States. Some U.S. military experts had warned that ultranationalist warrior values would prevent Japanese soldiers and civilians from giving up. Japanese prime minister Kantaro Suzuki, for example, had said that Japan's only option was to "fight to the very end." As a result, the experts warned that up to 250 000 Americans might die in an invasion of Japan. They believed that dropping the bombs would save American lives.

U.S. president Harry S. Truman made the final decision to drop the bombs. Truman believed that it was important to save as many lives as possible. In a speech made right after the bomb fell on Hiroshima, he said that Americans would completely destroy Japan's power to wage war only by destroying "every productive enterprise the Japanese have above ground in any city." These enterprises included docks, factories, and communication systems.

Some of the scientists who had helped build the atomic bomb asked Truman to warn Japan. They suggested that the United States set off the bomb in an uninhabited place, perhaps Tokyo Bay. They believed that this would show the Japanese leaders and people how much damage the bomb would cause. Seeing this would persuade Japan to give up — and no civilians would be harmed.

General Dwight D. Eisenhower, who had commanded the victorious Allied forces in Europe and who would later become U.S. president, also disagreed with Truman's decision. Eisenhower believed that Japan was already defeated. He said, "Our country should avoid shocking world opinion by the use of a weapon whose employment was . . . no longer mandatory as a measure to save American lives."

VOICES

When my vision cleared, I could not believe the sights before my eyes. People . . . so disfigured that it was impossible to distinguish one person from another. I began to cry hysterically and to scream out for my mother . . .

— Sakue Shimohira, Nagasaki survivor, who was 10 years old when the bomb was dropped in 1945

Figure 7-13 This cemetery in Hiroshima holds the remains of people who died as a result of the bombing on August 6, 1945. About 70 000 people died instantly. Others died later of their injuries or radiation sickness. By the end of 1945, the death toll stood at 140 000. Were the bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki justified by war — or were they criminal acts? Explain your response.

Recall . . . Reflect . . . Respond

1. List three crimes against humanity you have read about. For each, jot down two or three factors that made the crime possible.
2. Decide whether ultranationalism played a role in each crime against humanity you listed in response to Question 1. If so, explain how. If not, explain why not.
3. Nationalism and the pursuit of national interest can lead to ultranationalism, and ultranationalism can lead to crimes against humanity. Does this make nationalism dangerous? Explain your response to a partner.

THE VIEW FROM HERE

The *Enola Gay*, an American B-29 Superfortress bomber, dropped the first atom bomb on Hiroshima at 8:16 a.m. on August 6, 1945. Even before the bomb fell, people disagreed over whether it should be used — and the debate has continued ever since.

United States president **Harry S. Truman** made the final decision to drop the atomic bombs on Japan. In October 1945, Truman explained his decision.

> That bomb did not win the war, but it certainly shortened the war. We know that it saved the lives of untold thousands of American and Allied soldiers who would otherwise have been killed in battle.

Lewis Strauss was special assistant to the American secretary of the navy. Strauss believed that dropping the atomic bombs was unnecessary, and he explained his position after the war.

> I proposed . . . that the weapon should be demonstrated before it was used. Primarily it was because it was clear . . . that the war was very nearly over. The Japanese were nearly ready to capitulate . . . My proposal . . . was that the weapon should be demonstrated over some area accessible to Japanese observers and where its effects would be dramatic. . . . It seemed to me that a demonstration of this sort would prove to the Japanese that we could destroy any of their cities at will.

American soldier **Grayford C. Payne** survived more than three years in a Japanese prisoner-of-war camp. In 1994, he explained the perspective of prisoners of war, who expected to die if the Allies attacked Japan.

> In . . . June 1945, a note was posted in our camp. It was signed by Hideki Tojo [the Japanese prime minister]. And it said, "The moment the first American soldier sets foot on the Japanese mainland, all prisoners of war will be shot." And they meant it . . . That is why all of us who were prisoners in Japan, or were headed for it to probably die in the invasion, revere the *Enola Gay*. It saved our lives.

Oliver Kamm is a British journalist. The following excerpt is from a column he wrote in August 2006, on the 51st anniversary of the Hiroshima bombing.

> The bomb was a deliverance for American troops, for prisoners and slave labourers, for those dying of hunger and maltreatment throughout the Japanese empire — and for Japan itself. One of Japan's highest wartime officials, Kido Koichi, later testified that in his view the August surrender prevented 20 million Japanese casualties.

Arguments for and against Dropping the Atomic Bombs	
For	Against

EXPLORATIONS

1. Create a T-chart like the one shown and list arguments for and against dropping the bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki.
2. With a partner, choose sides and discuss whether dropping the bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki was a crime against humanity or a necessary — but terrible — act that saved millions of American and Japanese lives. Then switch sides and discuss the issue again. When you have finished, discuss which side was easier to argue. Why?
3. Since 1945, many countries have built atomic bombs — also called nuclear bombs — but no country has ever used one to settle a conflict. How would building nuclear weapons serve a country's national interest?

What are some current consequences of ultranationalism?

Since the end of World War II, people have tried to rid the world of the extreme forms of nationalism that can lead to crimes against humanity. They believe that it is in the interest of all countries — and all peoples — to do this. These crimes threaten the peace, security, and well-being of everyone.

Bringing Criminals to Justice

After the League of Nations failed to prevent the horrors of World War II, world leaders tried to find a new way to preserve peace in the world. They formed the United Nations, an international organization that all countries could join. They hoped that the UN could help find peaceful ways for countries to work out disagreements.

One of the UN's strategies for preventing crimes against humanity was to create an international court. But in 1945, the UN was still young. No permanent court had been established. So the victorious Allies set up international military tribunals to try German and Japanese officials for crimes they had committed during World War II.

Figure 7-14 One of the most famous international trials took place after World War II. About 200 top Nazi officials were tried in Nuremberg, Germany. This photograph shows some of the Nazi leaders in the court, which was set up by the victorious Allies. Is a court like this the most effective way of achieving justice?

The International Criminal Court

The tribunals set up after World War II highlighted the need for a permanent international court — and in 1948, the UN established a committee to do this. This task took 50 years to complete. One main stumbling block was differences of opinion over how the court would operate. Many governments feared that an international court would challenge their sovereignty.

In the end, the International Criminal Court was set up as a court of last resort. This means that the ICC will step in only when a national court fails to do so.

Canada played a leading role in creating the ICC. But other countries, such as the United States and China, have not recognized the ICC and refuse to co-operate with it. Some fear that the court will target their political leaders. Others worry that the court could be taken over by officials from countries that are their enemies. With a partner, develop an argument to persuade the officials of a government that has not recognized the court to change their position.

The International Criminal Court was set up in 1998, but it could not start operating until 60 countries had agreed to support it. This milestone was reached in 2002. By early 2008, 45 more countries had signed on. The UN funds the ICC, but the court operates independently.

Web Connection

To find out more about the development of the International Criminal Court and Canada's contribution to the process, go to this web site and follow the links.

www.UnderstandingNationalism.ca

Crimes against Humanity in the Former Yugoslavia

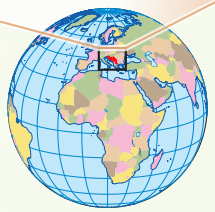
At the Paris Peace Conference of 1918–1919, the Allied leaders decided to create a new country: Yugoslavia, which means "land of the southern Slavs." They did this by uniting a number of nations in the area known as the Balkans.

Over the centuries, the Balkan nations had often fought bitterly with one another. But in Yugoslavia, they coexisted more or less peacefully.

In the second half of the 20th century, Yugoslavia was a tightly controlled communist state. But in the late 1980s, the Soviet Union started to crumble — and the nationalist and ultranationalist feelings of the Balkan peoples bubbled to the surface.

In 1991, Slovenia and Croatia declared independence. In 1992, Macedonia and Bosnia and Herzegovina did the same thing. Serbia and Montenegro formed the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia under the leadership of Slobodan Milošević.

Figure 7-15 Yugoslavia, 1990



To see a map that includes the Balkans today, turn to the map appendix.

Ethnic Cleansing

Milošević believed that Serbs formed an ethnic nation — and that everyone else should be expelled from Serbian territory. In his view, Serbian territory included Croatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, and Kosovo, even though Serbs were a minority in these areas.

Milošević called the expulsion process **ethnic cleansing**. He used this code term to make what was happening seem more socially acceptable. In reality, Serbs were killing non-Serbs.

The Siege of Sarajevo

In Bosnia and Herzegovina, for example, Milošević sent Serbian forces to help ultranationalist Bosnian Serbs drive out non-Serbs. In Sarajevo, the Bosnian capital, Orthodox Serbs, Catholic Croats, and Bosnian Muslims had lived and worked together peacefully. But soon after Bosnia and Herzegovina declared independence, Serbian forces attacked the city. City residents lived with constant bombardments and sniper attacks.

In June 1992, the United Nations Security Council told Serbian forces to stop the attack — or face military action. UN peacekeepers were sent to Bosnia to deliver supplies and set up safe areas where people could take refuge. But the peacekeepers had been ordered to remain neutral so that Serb forces would continue to allow them to deliver supplies. As a result, the siege continued.

Some people believed that the UN did not do enough to help Sarajevo — or other areas of conflict in the former Yugoslavia. By the time the siege of Sarajevo was lifted in early 1996, more than 11 000 of the city's residents had been killed.

Figure 7-16 In 1993, these women were running across a Sarajevo street nicknamed "Sniper Alley." Serb nationalist forces in the hills around the city shot at civilians as they tried to go about their daily lives. This went on for nearly four years.

Web Connection

To find out the latest developments at the International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia, go to this web site and follow the links.

www.UnderstandingNationalism.ca

Taking Action

In 1993, the UN Security Council set up the International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia. The purpose of the tribunal was to bring to justice people who had committed genocide and crimes against humanity. In 2002, Milošević was brought before the court, but he died before the end of his trial. The tribunal also charged Radovan Karadžić, the Bosnian Serb leader, and Ratko Mladić, Karadžić's army chief, with similar crimes. Karadžić was arrested in July 2008, but Mladić remained at large.

General Dragomir Milošević — no relation to Slobodan Milošević — had commanded the forces that attacked Sarajevo. In 2007, the tribunal found him guilty of murder, inflicting terror, and committing inhumane acts. He was sentenced to 33 years in prison.

MAKING A DIFFERENCE

Louise Arbour
Speaking Out for Human Rights

Figure 7-17 In 1999, Louise Arbour went to Kosovo to visit the sites of war crimes. In the village of Vlaštica, she held the hands of Albanian Kosovars as they told her about how Serbian forces murdered 13 people.

In 1996, Montréal-born Francophone Louise Arbour faced one of the biggest challenges of her life. She was appointed chief prosecutor of the international criminal tribunals for the former Yugoslavia and Rwanda. The tribunals had made little progress in bringing to justice those accused of genocide – and some critics predicted that Arbour would not be able to change this situation.

As it turned out, the critics were wrong. By 1999, Arbour had brought Slobodan Milošević and others to trial for crimes against humanity in the former Yugoslavia. In September 2007, Arbour said that the significance of the charges was to focus "the world's attention on . . . the law, international criminal law."

In 1999, Arbour left the UN to serve on the Supreme Court of Canada. But in 2004, the UN asked her to become the high commissioner for human rights. For the next four years, Arbour investigated human rights violations.

In this job, Arbour spoke out strongly for people whose human rights she believed had been abused. She condemned the American government, for example, for holding prisoners without trial at the country's Guantanamo Bay prison.

Statements like this made enemies, but human rights groups supported Arbour. A spokesperson for Amnesty International, for example, said that Arbour was not afraid to stand up to powerful people. "She's been unflinching in challenging human rights violations in big and powerful countries."

EXPLORATIONS

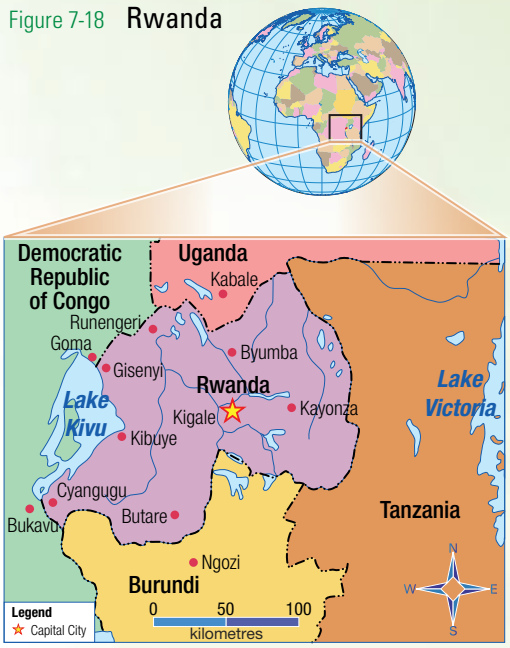
1. Louise Arbour shone a light on the misdeeds of the powerful and gave a voice to those with little chance to defend themselves. How might Arbour's approach help prevent crimes against humanity?
2. A motto is a brief way to express a goal. The RCMP motto, for example, is "Defend the law." Think about Louise Arbour's approach to fighting crimes against humanity. Then create a motto for prosecutors of war crimes.

Crimes against Humanity in Rwanda

Rwanda is home to two ethnic groups: Hutus and Tutsis. At one time, Hutus formed the majority, but Tutsis held much of the political power. This was because Tutsis were favoured by the Belgians, who had controlled the country when it was a colony.

Rwanda gained independence in 1962. When this happened, a power struggle erupted between Hutus and Tutsis. The majority Hutus finally gained control of the country, but the hard feelings between the two groups did not go away.

Figure 7-18 Rwanda



To see a more detailed map of Rwanda in the world, turn to the map appendix.

Genocide

Many Rwandans cannot read or write. As a result, radio is the most popular form of mass communication. Hutu ultranationalists used radio broadcasts to spread hate propaganda against Tutsis. Some broadcasts urged Hutus to kill all Tutsis. Specific people were sometimes called enemies of the nation and targeted by death squads — and successful killers were often congratulated on the air.

To try to control the violence, the United Nations sent a small force of soldiers to keep the peace in 1993. This force was commanded by Canadian general Roméo Dallaire.

The situation exploded in April 1994, when an airplane carrying Rwandan president Juvénal Habyarimana was shot down. The president was Hutu — and Hutu extremists blamed Tutsis for Habyarimana's murder. A killing spree followed. An estimated 800 000 people were killed. More than 90 per cent of the dead were Tutsis, but moderate Hutus who were against the masscre were also killed.

Dallaire and his small group of UN peacekeepers could not stop the slaughter. Dallaire had repeatedly warned the UN that the situation was drastic, but his warnings were ignored. Dallaire was also ordered not to intervene. The UN still believed that peacekeepers should not interfere in a country's domestic affairs — even to save the lives of innocent civilians.

Later, Boutros Boutros-Ghali, who was UN secretary-general at the time of the genocide, said that the UN's lack of action was one of the greatest failures of his life.

How would you rate the UN's usefulness in the case of the Rwandan genocide? What should the UN do the next time a senior peacekeeper warns that a genocide is likely to happen?

CheckForward >>>

You will read more about Rwanda and Roméo Dallaire in Chapter 10.

Figure 7-19 A Rwandan man holds an identity card issued by the government. These cards identified people as Tutsi or Hutu. During the genocide, Hutu killing squads used the cards to help them identify Tutsis. After the genocide, people's ethnic identity was no longer specified on the cards.

Figure 7-20 A book about Irena Sendler sits among photographs of this hero, who helped save many Jewish children from the Nazis. Yad Vashem has honoured Sendler, who died in 2008, as one of the Righteous among the Nations.

Figure 7-21 Canadian Ian Leventhal holds Toronto artist Donna Gottdenker's portrait of Feng Shan Ho. In 2002, Leventhal organized an exhibit to "commemorate the safe haven Shanghai offered to the Jews during the war years." Feng Shan Ho's story was central to the exhibit.

Acting for Good in the Face of Evil

Ordinary people sometimes do extraordinary things when they stand up for good in the face of evil, such as crimes against humanity and genocide. Irena Sendler, Feng Shan Ho, and Paul Rusesabagina are just three examples of people who did this. The list includes thousands of others.

Irena Sendler

Irena Sendler was a 29-year-old nurse who was living and working in Warsaw, the Polish capital, when German forces invaded her country in 1939. The Germans forced Warsaw Jews into a ghetto. Sandler's job took her into the ghetto every day — and she was horrified by what she saw. Every month, starvation and disease were killing about 5000 Jews in the ghetto. More were being sent to death camps.

So Sendler joined Żegota, a Polish underground group that had been set up to help Jews. Żegota asked Sendler to help save Jewish children, so she smuggled children out of the ghetto in ambulances or hidden in potato sacks. One baby was taken out in a carpenter's toolbox. Some went out in coffins. Some left through a church that had a back door that opened on the ghetto.

Sendler carefully recorded the children's identity on slips of paper that she placed in jars and buried under an apple tree. By October 1943, she had managed to save 2500 children.

German officials finally figured out what Sendler was doing. They arrested and tortured her. But even when they broke her feet and legs, she refused to reveal information about Żegota, the children, or the families who had taken them in.

The Germans finally gave up and sent Sendler to be executed. But members of Żegota bribed her captors and she escaped. Like the many children she had helped, Sendler was saved through the heroism of others.

Feng Shan Ho

When Germany took over Austria in 1938, Austrian Jews became the target of Nazi abuse. Many Jews tried to escape, but they could leave Austria only if they had boat tickets or an entry visa to another country. And most countries, including Canada, were not accepting Jews fleeing the Nazis.

At the time, Feng Shan Ho was a Chinese diplomat in Vienna, the Austrian capital. His boss was the Chinese ambassador to Germany. This official ordered Ho not to issue visas to Jews. But Ho refused to obey — and issued a visa to every Jew who asked for one. "I thought it only natural to feel compassion and to want to help," said Ho. "From the standpoint of humanity, that is the way it should be."

Because he disobeyed orders, Ho lost his job — but not before he had helped 18 000 Jews flee Austria.

Paul Rusesabagina

In 1994, Paul Rusesabagina was the manager of the Hôtel des Mille Collines in Kigali, the capital of Rwanda. When the genocide began, Rusesabagina could not turn his back. He opened the hotel's doors to 1200 desperate Tutsis and moderate Hutus. Rusesabagina could have escaped, but he chose to stay. He said, "If I leave tomorrow, I will never again in my life be a free man. I will be a prisoner of my own conscience."

To buy time for the people he was protecting, Rusesabagina quietly bribed officers of the Rwandan killer squads. He also telephoned and faxed foreign diplomats outside the country to get help. When the killing finally ended, everyone Rusesabagina had protected was safe.

➔ Write a haiku to express your response to the acts of Sendler, Ho, and Rusesabagina. A haiku is a poem with three lines. The first and third lines have five syllables, while the second has seven.

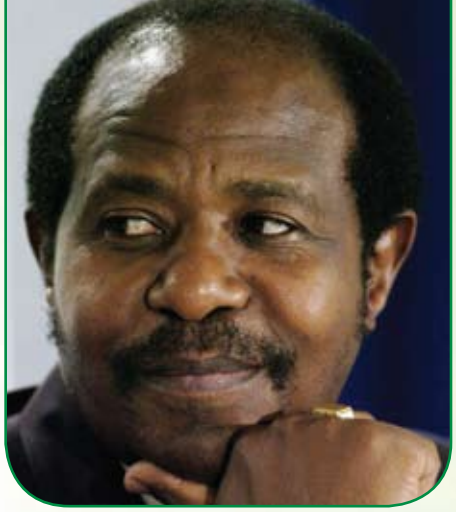


Figure 7-22 Paul Rusesabagina was of mixed Tutsi and Hutu heritage, but his wife was a Tutsi. After the genocide, he and his family fled to Belgium. His story was dramatized in the Hollywood movie *Hotel Rwanda*.

Taking Turns

Are crimes against humanity a thing of the past or could they happen again?

The students responding to this question are Rick, who was born in the United States but moved to Fort McMurray with his family when he was 10; Violet, a Métis who is a member of the Paddle Prairie Métis Settlement; and Amanthi, who lives in Edson and whose parents immigrated from Sri Lanka.

Rick

Sure, they'll happen again. Look at the number of countries ruled by dictators! Dictators like to fire people up with extreme nationalism. And they know the best way to get a mob mentality going is to blame some group for their country's problems. That's how genocide starts. People start thinking those who don't belong to their group are somehow less than human — therefore, killing them is okay.

Forget the future; crimes against humanity are happening right now. Look at Guantanamo Bay, where prisoners have been held for years without any trial at all! And what about Burma, where the government killed many monks? Or Darfur! Don't get me started. I'm just saying that if the UN really wants to prevent genocides, it should get a new motto: "Go in and stop it now."

Violet

Amanthi

I'm optimistic. With the UN and NGOs working to improve conditions, maybe ultranationalists won't get a foothold so easily. We have media letting the world know about dangerous situations, so they can take steps sooner. And technologies like Facebook and blogs make a huge difference in spreading the word about what's going on.

Your Turn

How would you respond to the question Rick, Violet, and Amanthi are answering? Which position do you agree with most? What would you add to it? What facts could you look up to help support your position?

THINK...PARTICIPATE...RESEARCH...COMMUNICATE...

1. In the following quotations, two experts give two different arguments to explain why they believe that dropping atomic bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki was a crime against humanity:

> On the battlefield . . . "extreme" conduct . . . may be . . . inevitable. However, atrocities carried out far from battlefield dangers . . . and according to a rational plan [are] acts of evil barbarism. The Auschwitz gas chambers of our "ally" Germany and the atomic bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki by our enemy America are classic examples of rational atrocities.

– Saburo Ienaga, historian, who worked all his life to oppose Japanese militarism

> Suppose Germany had developed two bombs before we had any bombs. And suppose Germany had dropped one bomb, say, on Rochester and the other on Buffalo, and then having run out of bombs she would have lost the war. Can anyone doubt that we would then have defined the dropping of atomic bombs on cities as a war crime, and that we would have sentenced the Germans who were guilty of this crime to death at Nuremberg and hanged them?

– Leó Szilárd, American physicist who helped build the first atom bomb

a) Take on the role of either Saburo Ienaga or Leó Szilárd. Imagine that you have been hired to advise the International Criminal Court on whether dropping the bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki was a crime against humanity. As you write your advice, draw on the words in the quotations, as well as information in this chapter. Identify whether ultranationalism is involved – and explain why or why not.

b) Share your advice with a partner who took on the role of the other expert.

c) How might those who supported dropping the atom bombs on Japan respond to Ienaga's and Szilárd's opinions?

2. The cartoon on this page was created by Jason Love. It shows the artist's response to nationalism. Examine the cartoon and complete the following activities:

a) What is Jason Love's message?

b) Do you agree with Love's message? To state your opinion, complete the following sentences:

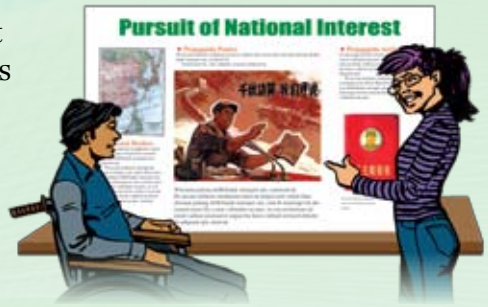
- I agree (disagree) with Jason Love because . . .
- Nationalism benefits the national interest when . . .
- Extreme nationalism can lead to . . .
- To serve their national interests, nations should . . .

c) Love chose to express his response to nationalism in the form of a cartoon. Choose an artistic form to express your response to nationalism. You might create a drawing, a cartoon, or a labelled diagram, or you might write a poem, such as haiku, or the words to a rap. You can make it serious or funny. Remember to avoid hurtful and stereotypical words and images.

Figure 7-23

Skill Builder to Your Challenge

Present an Artifact



The challenge for Related Issue 2 is to create a museum exhibit that explores and presents your opinion on the question for this related issue: Should nations pursue national interest?

In this skill builder, you will find or create an artifact that symbolizes a response to a crime against humanity that resulted from ultranationalism. You will also create a display card that explains your choice to museum visitors. As you do this, you will hone your critical thinking, literacy, and communication skills.

Step 1: Identify a crime against humanity

Begin by identifying a crime against humanity that resulted from ultranationalism. To do this, you may wish to explore an example that you read about in this chapter or conduct research to find another example.

Step 2: Consider artifacts that you could use to symbolize this example

Artifacts can take many forms. They may be photographs, letters, drawings, recordings, or other articles.

Developing criteria can help you decide on an artifact that will effectively represent the crime against humanity you have chosen. One criterion, for example, might be that the artifact appeal to viewers' emotions. (Will this artifact appeal to viewers' emotions?) Develop two other criteria.

You may choose an artifact from *Understanding Nationalism*, bring one from home, or use something you find in a library or on the Internet. You may also create your own.

Step 3: Explain your choice

Once you have chosen your artifact, draft a display card that will explain to viewers what it symbolizes. To do this effectively, it may help to answer the 5Ws+H questions: Who? What? When? Where? Why? How?

Share your draft explanation with a classmate or your teacher. Ask for feedback. On the basis of this feedback, revise your explanation.

Step 4: Add finishing touches

Decide how you can arrange your artifact and display card to convey your message most effectively. Will you create an interesting frame? Will you display them against a coloured background? Store both in a safe place until you are ready to assemble your display.